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I WOULD RATHER BE RIGHT THAN PRESIDENT.—HENRY CLAY.

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The Bribed Legislator.

BY W. B. CONWAY.

all the crimes with which the Tempter's
blackened and defiled the human heart,
meanest meanness, and the vilest vice,
most baseness, and the deepest guile,
ever tinged the conscious cheek with
shame.
And hark! the orphan's wailings strike the
ear!
Ah! who but God can estimate their pain?
They cry to Heaven—nor will they cry in
vain!
The man who takes a bribe would strip the
dead,
Or rob the orphan of his crust of bread;
So lost to justice, equity and right,
This man would steal the aged widow's mite;
Is well prepared for every kind of fraud;
Would sell his country, or betray his God;
Pillage the palace of the King of Kings,
Or strip the gilding from an angel's wings!
On sad events, now passing, do reflect:
Freemen!—be firm, and stern, and circum-
spect!
Let none be trusted who for office parts
To pamper vulgar, artificial wants.
Let every idle, vain, and vicious drone
Live, if he can—but trust not such an one.
Remember what Time's faithful record saith,
That Carthage fell—and fell by "PUNIC
FAITH!"
The man who is unfaithful to a trust,
However small, is vitally unjust;
And he who is unjust in little things
Would be a villain in the courts of kings.
Present a bribe—and down his virtue falls,
In courts, or camps, or legislative halls!
The bribed apostate!—blot his hateful name
From each and every scroll of honest fame.
Let no man trust him, none forbear to shed
Contempt and deep dishonor on his head.
Let Scorn still point her finger and her jibes,
And say—Behold the consequence of bribes!
Let guileless children, as he passes by,
Shrink from his touch, and shudder at his eye.
Let lovely women loath him with disgust,
And shun him like the reptile in the dust.
And whilst he lives, let Infamy alone
Claim the bribed legislator as her own;
Until he dies and sinks into the grave,
To poison worms that feed upon the knave.
There—amidst the storms—let hideous Furies
Foul
Hold nightly revels and in concert howl;
Let hissing serpents make that spot their
home,
And be the watchful guardians of his tomb;
And when he goes to hell, let devils stare,
And ask him—who the devil sent him there!
And feel the insult, deep, severe, and keen,
To see a fiend pre-eminently mean,
Midst better devils rudely ushered in—
A foul, appalling prodigy of sin!
And in hell's fiercest—hottest—furnace cram-
med.
Let him be damned—superlatively damned!
And why not damned for such transcendent
crimes?
Yes—damned eternally ten thousand times!
Ebensburg, Pa., March 28, 1838.

Reconstruction.

SPEECH OF HON. GLENNI W. SCOFIELD,
OF PENNSYLVANIA, IN THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASH-
INGTON, APRIL 28th, 1866.

The House, as in Committee of the Whole
on the State of the Union, having under con-
sideration the President's annual message—
Mr. SCOFIELD said:
Mr. SPEAKER: What is the whole
amount of disloyal population in the
southern States? I do not include in
this inquiry persons who have been stig-
matized as "sympathizers" or "copper-
heads," much less than any other portion
of the Democratic party, but only those
who sought to divide the country into two
republics and who now regret the failure
of their enterprise. The whole amount
of white population in the eleven confeder-
ate States is 5,097,524. Deducting
from this amount the estimated number
of loyal people in those States, and adding
the disloyal scattered through the other
five slave States, will give the answer to
my question. Making this deduction and
addition from the most reliable data with-
in my reach, I conclude that the disloyal
population in the whole South will not
exceed, if indeed it will equal, five million
in all.
If the eleven confederate States were
readmitted now (the Constitution and
laws remaining unamended) what amount
of representation in Congress and the
Electoral College would this five million
be entitled to claim? They would cer-
tainly have these eleven States. There
could hardly be a doubt about Kentucky.
For it the loyal men of that State, sus-
tained by the power of the Federal Army
and the persuasion of Federal patronage,
with the young disunionists absent in the
South and the old ones disfranchised at
home, could scarcely hold their own,
what could we expect them to do when
the disfranchising laws have been swept away,
the Army removed or palsied by orders,
and Federal patronage at least uncertain?
This would give them twenty-four Sen-
ators. There are four more States that
belonged to the slaveholding class, Dela-
ware, Maryland, West Virginia, and Mis-
souri. Is it any stretch of probabilities
to suppose that two more Senators will be
picked up somewhere in these four States
by the confederate element? I fear there
will be more. This will give them twenty-
six Senators.
In the House of Representatives this
population will have as large, if not larger,
proportionate representation. By the ap-
portionment of 1861, fifty-eight Represen-
tatives were assigned to the eleven confeder-
ate States. These States will be so
disfranchised by the hostile sentiment of their
several Legislatures that not one true
Union man can be elected. To the other
five slaveholding States twenty-six were
assigned by the act of 1861. If any one
will take the trouble to look over these dis-
tricts, I think he will come to the conclu-
sion that even if the laws disfranchising
rebels in Maryland, West Virginia, and
Missouri remain in force, not less than
half of these will be controlled by the in-
fluence and votes of the late secessionists.
This gives them seventy-one Representa-
tives in the House. But even this large
number must soon be increased. The
two-fifths of the four million freedmen
which were not counted in the represen-
tative basis of the last census must be
counted in the census of 1870, and (other
things remaining the same) add to that
number thirteen members more; so that
the five million disloyal population, as
soon as their full power can be felt thro'
the elections, will have at least twenty-six
Senators and eighty-four Representatives
and one hundred and ten votes in the
Electoral College. This is a low calcula-
tion. When we consider the earnestness,
or rather I should say the fierceness of
these people, the ability, ambition, and
courage of their leaders, we may well pre-
hend that the number will be even
greater. But this number is their own—
legitimate and certain under the laws as
they stand. Supposing the entire popu-
lation of the United States to be thirty-
five million now, this five million will be
just one-seventh of the whole, but will
have more than one-third the representa-
tion in both Houses of Congress, and
more than one-third of the Electoral Col-
lege. The same amount of loyal popula-
tion at the North is represented by only
about half that number. If by factions
or party division among the loyalists of
the country, they would contrive to secure
one-sixth more of the representation, they
would have a majority of the whole, and
be able to control Federal legislation,
elect the President, and distribute his pat-
ronage.
When these States are admitted and
these people come to have the unbridled
control of this twofold representation, how
will they desire to use it? I do not in-
quire how they possibly may use it, nor
even now how they expect or intend to use
it, but how, if unrestrained by a united
North, it would be their interest and de-
sire to use it. For the perpetuation of
the Union? I fear not. They have
come back to the Union, we should re-
member, only by coercion. To them it is
a forced bridal. They submit to it, but
they do not, because they cannot, embrace

it in their hearts. The soldiers maimed,
wives widowed, and children orphaned in
their bad cause, appeal to their leaders
for the promised support, but the Union
has no pensions for them. The fortunes
invested in confederate faith see no hope
of realization in the Union. Hatred of
the north and its anti-slavery majorities,
the original motive for secession, is ten-
times stronger now than in 1861, and is
backed up by \$4,000,000,000 of debt,
damages, and pensions, which, as they in-
sist, could, in a separate government, be
levied by an export duty upon the cotton-
consuming world. The life-habits of
these people, their love of ease and domi-
nation, their pride, aristocracy, wealth,
and power were all the outgrowth of an
institution which might possibly be re-
vived in a separate republic, but which is
forever gone in the Union. "Confederacy"
is a word that must be long enshrined
in their hearts by the tender memories of
their fallen kindred, but it must live, as
they well know, in the history, traditions,
and ballads of the Union, associated with
perjury, dishonorable crime, and cruel
war. If they should profess to love the
Union we could not believe them. It is
so unnatural that it would be easier to
believe they were hypocrites than that
they were monsters.
But they are neither hypocrites nor
monsters. They do not love the Union,
and do not pretend to. It is untruthful
men of our own section that prevaricate
for them. The same class of men that mis-
represented the feelings of the North be-
fore the war, and thus deceived the South
and goaded them into rebellion, now mis-
represent the feelings of the South to de-
ceive the North and lure it into irretriev-
able surrender. Before the war they de-
ceived the south and betrayed the north; but
now it is reversed, they deceive the North
and betray the loyal South. The same
perfidious breath that carried South the
untruthful story of northern hate, and
thus prompted the war, comes back now
with another story, equally untruthful,
of southern love. They tell us that the
disloyal South is a gentle bride, impatient
for the nuptials, when they know that she
submits to them with loathing. Have
they not laid down their arms? Is the ar-
gumentative inquiry. No, sir; their
arms were taken from them. Have they
not submitted? No, sir; they were de-
feated in battle. There is nothing in
their past conduct nor present attitude
that justifies the use of the word submis-
sion. Prisoners of war have been taken,
but they were released on parole; rebel
armies have been dispersed, but they have
been reorganized as State militia; rebel
State governments have been overthrown,
but again revived and restored to the
old possessors; and forfeitures of life and
estates have been remitted, but that is all.
Call this clemency, privilege, triumph,
victory, what you please, but do not call
it submission, with which it has not one
shade of meaning in common. We do not
need to call witnesses to prove that these
people are hostile to the Union and its
interests. The history of the human
race proves it. Whoever attempts to
prove the contrary must first show that
they are unlike any other people whose
passions, struggles, and defeats are record-
ed in the annals of the world.
But witnesses have been called—Union
generals and rebel generals, Union and
rebel citizens, without distinction of party,
condition, race, or color—and all support
under oath the great historic truth, that a
purpose imbibed in infancy, cherished
and stimulated by the rostrum, press, and
pulpit for a lifetime; upheld by large for-
tunes, wrung from the toil of slaves, and
sanctified by the blood of sons and kind-
red, has not been and cannot be surren-
dered to military orders. Such a purpose
surrenders only to time. I do not pre-
sent this great truth now by way of re-
proof or condemnation of these misguided
people, but only by way of caution and
warning to ourselves. I come to the con-
clusion, therefore, that they do not desire
the perpetuation of the Union. If we
would remove all restraints and give them
freedom of choice, they would revive the
confederacy at once. They would take
advantage of a war with Great Britain or
France to secure their independence, and
they would take advantage of their double
representation here to promote such a
war. If no opportunity of escape should
soon offer, would they not still live in
hopes of it and in persistent hostility to
the country's obligations to the soldiers,
widows, orphans, and creditors of our war,
and friendly to the assumption of similar
obligations created by themselves in the
interest of the rebellion? Even in ad-
vance of their own coming a portion of
their vast claims have reached your files.
When my colleague (Mr. Randall) from
the Democratic side proposed that the na-
tional faith, pledged in war, should not be
broken in peace, there was one voice from
Kentucky against it—only one by count,
but considering the quarter from which
it came, multitudinous in omen. A bill
has also been introduced by a gentleman,
sometimes called the Democratic leader in
this House, to repudiate in part the pub-
lic debt under pretense of taxing it, in
violation of the laws by which it was cre-
ated. These cannot be regarded as the
oddities of one or two men, but rather as
impulsive confessions of imprudent scouts,
too far in advance of the following army.

The purpose will not be generally disclo-
sed until the forces are arranged for its
execution.
I am speaking now only of the dangers
that will beset the Republic by the allow-
ance of a representation unfriendly to its
prosperity and even its existence in such
disproportionate numbers. But we should
not forget that this act is also a recogni-
tion as republican in form of constitutions
we have never seen (except that of Tennes-
see), and all, except those of Lincoln
origin, under rebel supremacy. The
white Unionists who have been looking
through five dreary years of persecution,
lynching, and confiscation to this as their
hour of deliverance, will find themselves
betrayed into the hands of their old,
unhumbled, unrelenting tormentors. It
also consigns the freedmen to the tyranny
of old masters, not now as heretofore
bribed to humanity by a moneyed interest
in the preservation of their chattel estates.
Twenty-five per cent., says an honorable
gentleman who presents his back offen-
sively to the North as he makes his low
obsequious South, twenty-five per cent.
have already perished. The wish no
doubt was father to the thought with the
masters in whose interest the declaration
is made.
These, then, are my premises. I will
repeat them:
1. There are only about five million
disloyal population in the country.
2. This population when fully restored
to the Union, the Constitution and laws
remaining unamended, will hold more
than one-third of its representative power
and the supreme control of at least thir-
teen States.
3. They will be interested to use that
power for the division of the Union; and,
failing in that, for the repudiation of its
military and financial obligations.
Now, what is to be done? If these
States are denied representation, it vio-
lates the fundamental principle of repub-
lican government. If allowed a double
and hostile representation, the Union
itself must be destroyed or preserved at
the expense of another war.
Three remedies are proposed:
1. Disfranchise some portion of the
rebels.
2. Allow all the rebels to vote, but
neutralize their disunion sentiments by
enfranchising the blacks in these States.
3. Equalize representation by taking as
its basis either the number of voters or
the population, minus the disfranchised
classes; so that these States shall have no
more representation in proportion to their
represented people than the old free States
have.
Either proposition would require an
amendment to the Constitution, to be
accepted by the rebel States as a condi-
tion precedent to their restoration. It is
also proposed to couple with either pro-
position a second amendment, prohibiting
the assumption of rebel debts and claims
either by States or the United States.
The third proposition has commended
itself to much the largest number of
Union members, and the amendments to
that effect have already passed this House
by more than a two-thirds vote. This,
then, so far as this House is concerned,
is the congressional plan of reconstruction.
All we ask of the rebel leaders who are
wrongly charging us with having no policy
at all, but designing to exclude them
for an indefinite period, is a little time to
put in form of fundamental law these
pledges of future peace. For five years
they have been out upon plague-infected
seas. Can they not tarry at quarantine
for a single session?
Stripped of all disguises, herein lies
the main disagreement. Shall these States
be recognized at once in their present
temper, without guarantees of any kind
and with a twofold representation? It
is not whether they shall be represented
at all; to that we all agree. There may
be a little question of time; a difference
of a few weeks or a few months, and that
is all. Shall they be represented twice
over, once in their own names and once
in the name of the negroes? Shall they
come in upon a representative basis that
clothes a white man of the South with
almost as much again political power as a
Northern man controls? That gives two
white voters in South Carolina as much
voice in the selection of a President and in
the legislation of this House as five voters
in Pennsylvania possess? That practi-
cally gives to one-seventh of your popula-
tion, disloyal at that, more than one-third
of your power? That, sir, is the great
question before this House and the Amer-
ican public. It is an effort on the part
of the Opposition to carry into the poli-
tics of the country the old problem by
which sixteen is made the majority of
forty-nine. In England it is called the
system of "rotten boroughs." It has long
been the subject of political strife between
the free and slave-labor counties of Mary-
land, Virginia and Tennessee. And when
it is everywhere else abandoned as a per-
nicious and anti-republican theory of
representation, we are asked to make it
the basis of reconstruction in the model
Republic.
The enactment of these two simple and
brief amendments, or others similar in
purpose, is so absolutely necessary for the
preservation of the Republic and the
discharge of its obligations to its soldiers
and creditors, and is so just and even

generous to the insurgents, that they
ought to receive the assent of every Union
man, especially of every northern Union
man. The Opposition do not dare to dis-
cuss their merits. While some deny that
we have any plan of reconstruction, others
assail it with insidious and deceptive
objections. Some of these I propose to
notice here.
First of all, they complain of the con-
sumption of time. Five months have
passed, and not a rebel admitted, is the
complaining accusation. The Opposition
are impatient. They cannot wait. Come
in at once, say they, to the "erring broth-
ren." Do not wait to drop your side arms
or exchange your disloyal garments.—
Bills to protect the loyal men of the
South against your pretended violence are
pending now, come and help defeat them.
We will soon have bills to enlarge pen-
sions and equalize bounties to the soldiers
you have maimed and the widows you
have made; your advice and votes will be
needed. A bill to give bounty land to the
"boys in blue" could not be defeated nor
the "butternuts" included without you.
A bill to lift the burdens of taxation from
the industry of the country and place it
upon your foreign confederates, through
exported cotton, will need your attention.
Hurry up your organizations. Do not
wait to heal lips blistered with a double
oath of broken fealty before you kiss the
Holy Evangelists with another. We have
buried our sons and are languishing to
clasp the hands of their murderers. When
once admitted, deny that you ever tried
to break up the Government, but swear
on all occasions that the Lincoln party
were and are the traitors.
The complainants have only themselves
to blame for much of this delay. Except
for their persistent opposition the amend-
ments would have been submitted months
ago to the Legislatures then in session in
the loyal States, and been assented to, no
doubt, by the constitutional number.—
Except for their own opposition they
might now be welcoming back their long-
mourned friends to seats in these Halls.
But they would consent to nothing that
did not return them greater in numbers,
and more malevolent in purpose. Hence
the delay. *Hinc illa lacrima.*
Next we are told that it conflicts with
the "President's policy." What is the
President's policy? I aver, first, that the
President, when last authoritatively heard
from, was in favor of the principle em-
bodied in each of the proposed amend-
ments. Of the first one, because he
required the confederate States to adopt
it; of the second one, because he has re-
peatedly declared himself in favor of
making the number of voters the basis of
representation. I aver, second, that he
does not consider the status of the States
such, that their assent to constitutional
amendments cannot be required as condi-
tions precedent to their restoration, be-
cause he directed Mr. Seward to inform
these States that their assent to the
amendment proposed in the last Congress
was "indispensable" to restoration; and
because he has not himself dealt with
them as if they were States already
in the Union. When the confederacy fell
they were in full operation under govern-
ments originally organized in the Union.
Governors, Legislatures, judges, and a full
set of county and township officers were at
work under constitutions once declared to
be republican in form by the United
States. These governments were regular
unless you assent to the doctrine of forfeit-
ure, for they had political continuity,
what the church people call apostolic suc-
cession. Yet they were destroyed by the
President's order and new ones extempor-
ized in their stead.
From that time to this, in the States,
the breath of the President has been the
law of the land. Mr. Johnson went much
further in this direction than his prede-
cessor. Mr. Lincoln established govern-
ments only in States where he found none
existing before, but Mr. Johnson first
destroyed existing governments and then
supplied their places with those of his
own creation. So, both by words, and
actions which speak louder than words,
the President assents to every principle
involved in the congressional policy of
reconstruction. Indeed, the two policies
could not well conflict, because they re-
late to different subjects. The one cre-
ates or revives State organizations; the
other renews their Federal relations.—
When these organizations were complete,
and the States ready to apply to Congress
for a return to the Union, the President's
policy was ended. His work was all
done. The rest was for Congress. So he
directed his Secretary of State to inform
Governor Sharkey, July 24, 1865, Gov.
Marvin, September 12, 1865, and so he
informed us in his annual message. If he
has changed his policy since then it is
hardly worth while to inquire what it is
now, for his principles are written in wa-
ter.

[Conclusion next week.]
The Court of Rome stifles a rumor
of an attempt to poison the Pope. The
attempt is not imputed to the party of
action, but to the Jesuits and reactionary
fanatics, who fear that the Pope may re-
turn to a liberal policy, and come to an
understanding with Italy.
Ind. stry is one means of obtaining
competitor.